

WORKS IN PROGRESS

VOLUME 9, No. 4

THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION

AUGUST 1998

"Treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity." Noel Ignatiev & John Garvey

Nazis on Main Street: Coeur d'Alene's Dirty Little Secret

Andrea Bauer

When Coeur d'Alene officials heard that the Aryan Nations planned to parade through the downtown heart of their upscale Idaho tourist mecca on July 18, they scrambled desperately to avoid a confrontation between the white supremacists and civil rights activists.

Fortunately, their prayers weren't answered; more than 500 angry protesters turned out on a Saturday morning in heat approaching 100 degrees to oppose aspiring fuhrer Richard Butler and 90 of his followers as they marched down Sherman Avenue in full fascist regalia.

Chanting anti-Nazi protesters drowned out Butler's attempt to spread his message of race hatred, anti-Semitism, sexism, and homophobia through a megaphone. They followed the brownshirts after the march to a waterfront city park - which, like the seven-block-long parade route, was roped off by the police to safeguard the white supremacists - and circled the site. The fascists quickly dispersed.

Anti-Nazi forces clearly carried the day. Nevertheless, because of the city policy of accommodation and appeasement toward the Aryan Nations and the

hostility of the huge police presence toward the civil rights demonstrators, I found the experience a chilling one.

To a dismaying extent, the modern-day Nazis, who want to fashion the Pacific Northwest into an all-white enclave, have already made themselves at home in Coeur d'Alene. To my shock, I learned that uniformed Aryan Nations members regularly visit city restaurants and pass out literature at local malls without being confronted.

I traveled to Coeur d'Alene with the Seattle-based United Front Against Fascism, a coalition founded by feminists, radicals, and gay and Black community leaders that is justifiably proud of its 10-year record of effectively challenging the ultraright in the Northwest.

Says Guerry Hoddersen, a UFAF founder and Freedom Socialist Party candidate for Washington state representative from the 37th District: "What we saw in Coeur d'Alene was horrifying. A prosperous town of 24,000 built on tourism turned over its main street to men who advocate genocide. The state cops and SWAT team acted like storm troopers themselves, guarding Butler's men and attacking protesters. They even intimidated a group of religious folks into not singing 'We Shall Overcome' by threat-

ening that this could be considered 'verbal violence.'"

Coeur d'Alene officials afforded the Aryan Nations red-carpet treatment, providing them with a parking lot, a city park to assemble in, and more than \$100,000 worth of police protection. Police focused on anti-bigotry demonstrators rather than Butler's troops as potential instigators of mayhem, wading into the crowd

Because of the city policy of accommodation and appeasement toward the Aryan Nations and the hostility of the huge police presence toward the civil rights demonstrators, I found the experience a chilling one.

swinging nightsticks and arresting protesters for refusing to go along with arbitrary, unreasonable searches of their belongings and demands to stop shouting slogans the cops decided were off limits.

No fascist USA!

Anti-Nazi demonstrators came not only from Idaho and Washington but also from California, Montana, the Midwest and Canada. Gordon Christie of Alberta, Canada, executive secretary and orga-

nizer for the Calgary and District Labour Council, told me that he was there because "Those of us with the CDLC have spent our lives fighting discrimination and racism. I thought it was very important that we be visible."

He was also critical of city officials, saying, "I would have liked to see the \$100,000 they spent on law enforcement put instead into anti-discrimination programs in schools and worksites."

Barbara Harris, president of the Northern Idaho Central Labor Council, said to me, "It's important for labor to be involved because we're the working folks - labor represents all people, no matter what religion or color or anything else." She, too, was unhappy with Coeur d'Alene

authorities: "I'm just appalled that they have given the Aryan Nations the city park."

Cops target civil rights defenders

As the Aryan Nations began their parade at 10:00 a.m., the sidewalks were lined with spirited protesters, curious onlookers, a few tourists taking pictures, and a sprinkling of sympathizers who gave the Nazi salute. Before the march started, police drove down Sherman Avenue announcing over loudspeakers that anyone who stepped into the street would be arrested without further warning. They made good on their threats; cops in full riot gear took more than a dozen demonstrators into custody either for leaving the sidewalk or refusing to have their bags searched.

Among those arrested were members of a contingent of students and Earth First! activists from Moscow, Idaho.

Said Lori Graves, "The police grabbed me out of the blue and ripped my backpack from me. Four officers threw me to the ground and applied a painhold with no provocation, and then placed me under arrest when I tried to call attention to this illegal detention, search, and seizure. Then I was taken to jail and locked in a shower for several hours and harassed by male officers before ever being told what I was charged with."

Letters are being solicited to Mayor Steve Judy protesting the cops' physical abuse of demonstrators and violations of their rights.

Police also demanded that anti-fascists tear their picket signs apart and hand over the sticks. When UFAF members accused them of trampling on their constitutional

Organizing Against White Supremacy: an Interview with LeeAnn Hall

Gary Delgado

The Northwest — especially rural Washington state, Idaho and Montana — is often portrayed as a militia-overrun wilderness, the kind of place where an aging white supremacist might retire.

Recent headlines seem to bear this out. In Eugene, Oregon, skinheads from the white supremacist group Volksfront spit on a young biracial woman, calling her a mongrel. Latino youths in Mampa, Idaho, were beaten then chased down by a car. Swastikas appeared on a local synagogue and the State Supreme Court building in Cheyenne, Wyoming. The Aryan Nations planned a march for Hitler's birthday in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.

But the Northwest Federation of Community Organizations (NWFCO), a coalition of community organizations based in the five states of the Pacific Northwest, saw both danger and an organizing opportunity in these racist conditions.

Introducing issues of race into both their leadership programs and direct action campaigns, NWFCO took a leap of faith that has been well-rewarded. The race focus marked a departure for several member organizations. But the campaigns have successfully raised the stakes on issues such as affirmative action and

The right wing in Washington is a lot deeper than just skinheads. And a racist initiative, especially this anti-affirmative action proposal, is as much about building a constituent base as it is about winning the issue.

immigration.

Moreover, the very constituency often painted as potential militia recruits — low-income, rural whites — have sometimes led the anti-racist organizing. In this interview by Gary Delgado of ColorLines, Executive Director LeeAnn Hall describes some of the Federation's work.

CL: We know that groups like Aryan Nation make their home in the Northwest. Are recent reported incidents isolated media events or are we confronting a new wave of racist activity?

LH: The activities of racial extremists are clearly on the rise. In fact I'm sure that many incidents of racial harassment are

never even reported. But just as important are the ways this rise in extremist sentiment influences mainstream politics. Extreme racist rhetoric and activity creates a space for a more "respectable" centrist movement — pushing the bound-

(Continued page 15)

(Continued page 15)

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the Workers In Progress and are solely those of the authors.

Submissions:

Correspondence, articles, art, and photographs are always welcome. Please, when possible, put articles on a 3.5" IBM-compatible disk (text preferred). Artwork and photos should be camera-ready/black & white.

WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions. For editing purposes, please enclose your phone number. Articles may be reprinted. Please cite source.

If you don't see your issue being covered in Works In Progress, it's because you aren't writing about it! (Or aren't finding someone else to cover it!)

Send submissions to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507-0295, wip@olywa.net, or come by our office and drop it in the "WIP Box" located in the Liberation Cafe.

Back Issues:

library of Liberation Cafe along with a chronology. Back issues are also available in the Olympia Timberland Library. WIP is being archived on microfilm by the UW Library.

WORKERS IN PROGRESS

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Teresa Jennings	Tara Perkins
Jerome Johnson	CJRusso
Margaret Love	Marie Smith
Evelyn Montague	Sylvia Smith
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Mission Statement:

"Our aim is to confront injustice and encourage a participatory democracy based on economic, social, and environmental justice. Works In Progress is dedicated to providing a voice for those most affected by the exclusionary and unfair practices that seek to silence the oppressed."

Anti-Discrimination Clause:

We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

Governing Tool:

The following statement will become part of the Editorial Policy and will be the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause: *WIP will make every effort to work with the contributor to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but WIP reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.*

Letters & Briefs

Olympia City Council

Tuesday, August 18th 7:30pm
Olympia City Hall

Support the Olympia Coalition for Equal Opportunity and defend affirmative action by attending this meeting in which the OCEO will propose a proclamation to the City of Olympia that reaffirms the value of affirmative action. For more information, call the OCEO at 360/943-7469.

Welfare Rights Organizing Coalition

Wednesday, August 5, 6-8 pm
the First United Methodist Church
5th and Boundary Streets

WROC's mission is to effect economic and social justice by educating and empowering low income people, especially those on public assistance, to effect positive change in their communities and their lives. WROC in Olympia came out of a need for low income parents to create a support group. WROC works to change the balance of power between low income parents and policy makers and those implement the policies. Monica Peabody is now working as a VISTA, so she can devote full time to organizing. For more information, call Monica at 360/753-4459.

Solidarity Tour: Mexican Strikers from the Han Young Factory

Friday, August 7, 7pm
Liberation Cafe

(still above Bulldog News!)

Workers at the Han Young factory near Tijuana weld chassis for the Hyundai company. Their demands for an independent union have been met by obstruction, resistance, and violence on the part of Han Young management and the Mexican government. These workers need our support. One of the Han Young strikers will be in Olympia, with an interpreter, to talk about their fight for recognition. Take advantage of this opportunity to learn more about the strike and show our solidarity with their struggle. This event is free to the public.

Northwest Delegation to El Salvador Departs Aug. 7

Three Olympia area residents will be joining an additional 12 people from Seattle to support peace and development efforts of a small Salvadoran Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) called Foundation for Self-Sufficiency. Teresa Jordan, Alice Curtis, and Bob Ziegler are the local residents making the trip. This delegation will be joining others from around the country and traveling to El Salvador Aug. 7-16 to support peace work, conflict resolution efforts, and environmental restoration as well as sus-

tainable community development. For additional information, contact Bob Ziegler at 360/491-7050.

Earth First!

Action Training Camp!

Friday, August 7-11, Gifford Pinchot National Forest. Non-violence training, timber sale monitoring, direct action, tree-climbing, and current GP timber sales will be covered. Local contact number: 360/352-3329.

Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbian & Gays

Annual Picnic, Sunday, August 9
2pm at Yauger Park.

Bring food to share, your table service and lawn chairs. Meet at the Yauger Park shelter: from Cooper Point Road, west on Capital Mall Blvd., right on Alta St. at Dirt Works sign, to shelter. For more information, call 360/866-0511 or e-mail: olynflag@hotmail.com.

Thurston Tenant's Union

Monday, August 10, 7-9pm
Columbia Legal Services offices
1005 5th Avenue SW

Be a part of a valuable community resource. Renters, both satisfied and disgruntled, are welcome. Learn your rights and responsibilities as a tenant and help others do the same. For more information, call 360/413-4438 and leave a message.

United Farmworkers Olympia Solidarity Committee

Tuesday, August 11, 6:30 pm
Olympia Community Center

Help Defeat I-694: Keep WA Pro-Choice!

Thursday, Aug. 13, 6pm
Sound Choice Health Center

I-694, the so-called "partial-birth abortion" initiative is making its way to the November ballot. Help reinforce Washington's pro-choice stance and attend this informative and strategic meeting. Contact the Washington National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL) for more information at 206/624-1990 or e-mail: wanaral@earthlink.net.

Northwest Equality Tour Community Potluck BBQ w/Candace Gingrich & Donna Redwing

Friday, August 14th
5:30pm - 8:30pm

Tumwater Historical Park

Join local activists, friends and can-

(Continued on page 14)

WIP Schedule

Submission Deadline:

Friday, August 21st

6pm at Liberation Cafe

Proofreading Meeting

Tuesday, August 25th

7pm at Olympia Timberland Library

WORKSINPROGRESS:

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AUGUST 1998

Practical Guide to Non-Sexist Language

The language of a male-centered culture does not adequately serve our changing society. Enormous changes have been made in our culture and our language has not kept pace. Communication between people must be clear and accurate. Language is changing, creating new words that can change our culture, our society, our humanity.

Example

Alternatives

mankind	humankind, humanity
manmade	manufactured, artificial
manpower	workpower, human resources, work force, staff
manned space flight	human, with crew, staffed, piloted
manhole	conduit, sewer or drain hole/opening/access
man the phones	staff, operate, answer
man-size	big, large, enormous, etc.
brotherhood of man	human community
common man	average person
family of man	human race, civilization
goodwill to man	goodwill to people/humanity/humans/humankind
layman	layperson, nonprofessional, non-expert, novice
journeyman	certified crafter (carpenter, metalworker, etc.)
gentlemen's agreement	honorable agreement
bachelor's degree	undergraduate degree

Dallas Rainbow N.O.W (www.startext.net/homes/rainbow/language.htm)

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
PRONOUNS: The masculine pronoun "he" fails to represent the female half of the species. Shown below are some suggested solutions. They have been applied to the sentence <i>"Everyone is expected to do 'his' job well."</i>						1 1997 - National Cancer Institute: 75,000 people exposed to iodine-131 from 50's above-ground nuclear bomb tests
Pluralize to avoid gender-specific pronoun: <i>"Employees are expected to do their jobs well"</i>		Rewrite the sentence without the pronoun: <i>"Everyone is expected to do the job well."</i>		Use they as singular with indefinite pronouns: <i>"Everyone is expected to do their job well."</i>		
2 1995 - Senate votes to deny hearing for 17 women who accused Sen. Packwood of sexual misconduct to testify	3 1997 - United Parcel Service employees (Teamsters' Union) goes on strike across the nation	4 1944-Anne Frank discovered by Nazis 1995 - Rep. Cal Anderson dies due to complications of AIDS	5 1945- Bombing of Hiroshima, 7:15 pm 1966-Martin Luther King, jr. stoned during Chicago march	6 1965- LBJ signs Voting Rights Act of 1965 1997 - Microsoft bails out Apple with an \$150 million investment	7 1996 - Nasa researchers present proof of past life on Mars. Shows image of tubular form found in meteorite	8 1974- Nixon resigns 1996 - State Supreme Court upholds Washington law: "three strikes, you're out"
9 1995 - Two men, one African-american/one Native, stabbed in racially motivated attack in downtown Olympia	10 1997 - Hundreds march five miles along State Highway 243 demanding higher wages for apple workers	11 1965-Watts Riot 1997 - President Clinton uses the line-item veto for the first time	12 1997 - AFL-CIO pledges to help the Teamsters provide strike pay to striking UPS employees	13 1926-Fidel Castro born 1831-Nat Turner slave insurrection 1923-"Yes, We Have No Bananas" is #1 hit	14 1995 - Okanogan grants sheriff jurisdiction over any FBI activity in county. "We don't want another Ruby Ridge"	15 1997 - Justice Department fails to find evidence to prosecute high-ranking FBI officials for Ruby Ridge
16 1936 - Spain: Fascist rebels in the capture of Badajoz execute 1,200 Loyalists by firing squad	17 1948 - Alger Hiss faces his accuser, Whittaker Chambers, at a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing	18 1997 -Jury finds Dow Chemical hid silicone implant information 1997 - UPS/ Teamsters Union reach agreement	19 1997 - Nike officials eyeball Thurston and Pierce counties for possible sites for offices and factories	20 1996 - St Dept of Ecology agrees to review air-pollution programs. 1997 - Gary Michel is new Oly police chief	21 1997 - FBI sharpshooter is charged with manslaughter of Ms. Weaver during the shootout at Ruby Ridge	22 1996 - Pres. Clinton signs welfare bill limiting benefits to five years, requires work within two years
23 1906-Cuba requests US troops to quell revolt 1997 - Israel fires missiles at Lebanon for the fourth time in a week	24 1954-Communist Party outlawed in US 1997 - Justice Dept reports increase of domestic violence injuries	25 1925-Brhd of Sleeping Car Porters organized 1995 - Federal judge rules WA's sex-predator law is unconstitutional	26 1968-National Democratic Convention opens in Chicago 1920-19th Amendment grants women the vote	27 1996 - Phi Delta Kappa nat'l survey: Americans (60%) oppose tuition vouchers for private or religious schools	28 1997 - State Supreme Court throws out the procedure of checking out people stopped for traffic infractions	29 1997 - NYC: Day of Outrage Against Police Brutality/Harassment to protest police torture of Haitian immigrant
30 1996 - Arlo Guthrie performs benefit for Olympia AIDS Prevention Project, Liberation Cafe, and WIP	31 1996 - Iraq launches massive dawn offensive that quickly overruns Kurdish city in US protected northern Iraq	JULY S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31		SEPTEMBER S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30		"Now that you have touched the women, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, and you will be crushed." South African women during the 1956 campaign against pass laws

Naming Names and America's Racial Heritage

Dr. Manning Marable

Last month I visited New Orleans to give several lectures at Dillard University, a prominent historically black college. It was on Dillard's campus that I learned about a local in the educational controversy which may have national consequences. The Orleans Parish School Board several months ago announced the renaming of one of its oldest elementary schools. What was previously George Washington Elementary had become the

U.S. president had been unceremoniously dumped in favor of a black man, many white critics were outraged. One white political scientist, Tulane University professor emeritus William Gwyn, insisted that the decision was "foolish and uninformed" and "based on a poor understanding of our country's past." Gwyn lamented, "What must the rest of the country think of a city that does not allow the name of the father of our country to appear on a public school?"

Responding to Professor Gwyn was Malcolm Suber, leader of the African-American History Alliance of New Or-

Suber correctly pointed out that Washington owned hundreds of slaves, buying and selling African-American men, women and children on auction blocks, like cattle or horses.

Dr. Charles Drew Elementary School. The name change was initiated and enthusiastically supported by the school's students, teachers and parents. The school's African-American History Club had proposed Drew, a famous black surgeon who had established procedures for processing and storing blood plasma. Dr. Drew had been the leading organizer of blood bank programs during World War II, and was responsible for saving millions of lives.

When it was announced that the first

leans. Suber correctly pointed out that Washington owned hundreds of slaves, buying and selling African-American men, women and children on auction blocks, like cattle or horses. Washington was convinced that black people were intellectually and morally inferior to whites, and opposed any provisions safeguarding their political freedoms and rights. Suber notes:

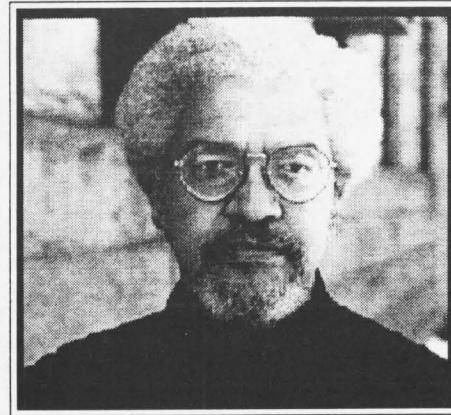
"While the slave-holding founders of the United States, such as Washington, Jefferson and Madison, could proclaim

the principle that all men are created equal, they could include the three-fifths clause in the Constitution. This reveals the hypocrisy and institutional racism built into the very foundations of so-called U.S. democracy."

The problem of naming schools isn't isolated to the white "founding fathers." Over past decades, New Orleans public schools have been named for a series of white racists, slaveholders and former Confederate army officers. A short list includes: John McDonogh, a wealthy Louisiana slaveholder who freed many of his slaves only on the condition that they returned to Africa; Henry W. Allen, a sugarcane planter and Confederate general; Confederate army commander Robert E. Lee; and Confederate president Jefferson Davis.

Some people who support the racial name change have pointed out that the New Orleans public school system is overwhelmingly black, and that our children should be presented with positive role models from our own history and culture. Certainly this is an important point. By cultivating greater awareness and appreciation among African-American young people about their heritage, they acquire valuable lessons about black achievement against the odds.

Yet there is a larger political issue which is just as important in this debate over names. The United States, from its origins to the present, has always lied to itself about what it is. We have claimed to be a "democracy" while denying voting rights to the majority of citizens. We claim "equal protection under the law" while millions of black, brown and poor people are unjustly treated in our courts and prisons. Our economic system generates profits for the privileged few, while



allocating poverty and unemployment to many others.

There have always been Americans who challenged the political hypocrisy of this nation. They have been black, brown and white. They were activists in civil rights, the antiwar movement against U.S. involvement in Vietnam, women's rights and the welfare rights movement. They have been abolitionists against slavery in the 19th century and trade union opponents of NAFTA and corporate globalization in the 21st century. They are the "Other America," those who dreamed of a truly democratic society. Their names—such as Cesar Chavez, Fannie Lou Hamer, Anna Julia Cooper, Eugene V. Debs, William Lloyd Garrison, Jos* Marti, Paul Robeson—represent an alternative perspective on what America has been, and what it can become.

Some might think about the controversy over "names" as being merely symbolic. It isn't. Who and what we recognize or honor in the public sphere inevitably influences our politics. The fight to "rename" schools and other public institutions is part of a larger struggle to redefine what America itself is about—past, present and future.

Justice For Mumia Abu-Jamal

Leonard I. Weinglass

In a startling, and even disgraceful, effort to hasten and insure the execution of an innocent man whose substantial legal claims that he never received a fair trial are just now being reviewed by the highest court of Pennsylvania, a previously unknown group speaking for the

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a renowned journalist from Philadelphia who has been on death row for 16 years for the alleged shooting of Officer Faulkner, and who was known as "the voice of the voiceless" for his award winning reporting on police abuse and other social and racial ills that afflicted the minority communities of Philadelphia, had received worldwide support in his effort to overturn his

They would like to completely ignore all the evidence brought out in the 1995, 96, and 97 postconviction hearings on the motion for a new trial.

Fraternal Order of Police, and apparently headed by a slain police officer's widow, took out a full page unsigned ad on the most prestigious page of the Sunday New York Times of June 14th entitled, "Justice for Police Officer Daniel Faulkner." The target of this attack,

unjust conviction. At the time of his arrest in 1981 Jamal was serving as the President of the Association of Black Journalists and had previously been a founder of the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia and a supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE group.

In a country awash with commodity advertising, the many thousands of dollars spent in this false and misleading ad will not subvert or detract from the public outcry in support of Jamal. The rush to judgment back in 1982, fueled by sensational media reporting that echoed police demands for the death of Mumia Abu-Jamal irrespective of the evidence, has produced an historic injustice which has kept an innocent man in prison most of his adult life. The effort to now seal his fate through advertising is equally reprehensible and must be rejected in favor of immediate freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Working Notes for Activists By C. Clark Kissinger

There are three remarkable things about this ad (which cost tens of thousands of dollars): First, it is anonymous (signed by "Justice for P/O Daniel Faulkner, Inc."). Second, that all their transcript citations are from the 1982

original trial — they would like to completely ignore all the evidence brought out in the 1995, 96, and 97 postconviction hearings on the motion for a new trial. And third, that they felt compelled to put it out at all. It shows that our work has been truly effective.

Now let's take this opportunity now to throw it back in their face and build even more support for Mumia's cause!

We ask you to join us in signing a full-page ad in the *New York Times* to win a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal, the Philadelphia African-American journalist on death row. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court will soon rule on his final appeal at the state level, and the governor has promised to sign an immediate death warrant if his appeal is denied.

Mumia's request for a new trial has been supported by forces as diverse as the European Parliament, the San Francisco city council, and the head of Amnesty International.

It is a call to save both a life and the "voice of the voiceless."

Depending on placement and editions, this ad will cost between \$26,000 and \$78,000. It is being funded by its signatories. It will both popularize Mumia's case and solicit funds for Mumia's legal defense. We need a minimum contribution of \$250 per signatory. Contributions for this ad are tax deductible. Checks in any amount should be made out to:

Black United Fund/Mumia Abu-Jamal and in the memo field please write "New York Times ad"
Black United Fund, 2227 N. Broad St. Philadelphia, PA 19132-4502.

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A Walk On The Lighter Side

Jerome Johnson

Summer has always been my favorite season.

Now, I know it's not politically correct. But I happen to like hot weather, especially here in the Northwest. In the summertime the sky is so blue and clear, tinged with the scent of the tall trees. Even downtown the smell of coffee brewing early in the morning has a special tang. It's hot, sure, but cool breezes waft through — and I love the sound it makes rustling through the branches of the evergreens. I have a secluded backyard, so I can wear a minimum of clothing when I garden or barbecue or whatever, and I really love the way the sun makes my skin such a dark brown (what many white people call a tan).

When I was a boy growing up, summer was the best time. I had a three-month break from the intense racism I faced at school during the year. My days were spent playing baseball and riding my bike around the neighborhood, cooking lunch outside, watching TV and reading. Sometimes I spent the weekend with my Aunt Gwen, whose little house was always filled with her easy laugh and spicy soul food. And on a gray, muggy day in July 1969, my mother and I watched on our black-and-white Magnavox as Neil Armstrong stepped into history. Later, we watched Alan Shepard test his swing on the Moon.

I remember one summer when my Aunt Gwen and Mother went out to Yelm to pick their own strawberries. That day

was a scorcher. But they'd grown up in the San Joaquin Valley, and they wanted some fresh berries. So we parked in the shade, left me with my books and water, and off they went.

They came back with berries and serious aches. With rueful grins, they put their pick in the car and we went home. Between groans I heard their laughing decision that the berries were good — but not quite *that* good.

A smiling Bernandean Broadus was working the Republican food booth, clad in jeans and a GOP T-shirt.

After I turned 12, summer was my time to make money. It was the early 1970's, right before the Embargo, and gas was 54 cents a gallon. I did yard work, weeding and mowing and trimming. I've worked ever since, doing a variety of jobs.

And every summer, there was Lakefair.

We went to the county fair too, but for me, as a kid, Lakefair was coolest (I was never much of an animal guy). Mother took me every year, and when I was a big kid, I went with my friends. Since then Mother's been a little skeptical of Lakefair. By the time I'd grown up, she was content to just watch the fireworks Sunday evening. I'd ask her if she wanted to go and she always declined, having something better to do. Seen one cheap carny, seen 'em all. I understood — Mother is a world traveler. I can see how

Lakefair would have trouble compared to the Eiffel Tower.

Well, Mother shocked me the other day. I was puttering around, doing my housework, when out of the blue she casually asked if I was going to Lakefair, since I hadn't the past few years.

"Weather's pretty nice," I said, "I'll probably take a little walkabout. . .later this afternoon."

"Well, do you mind if I go with you?"

"Come on! Of course not!" I said, in shock. She hasn't gone to Lakefair in at least twenty years. But I loved the idea right away — it'd be so cool to reverse roles, take *her* to Lakefair, as she'd taken me when I was a boy.

ing the sights and smelling the food. We could hear the music from the stages, and the shrieks of happy folks on the rides. It wasn't too crowded. As we strolled onto the Midway everyone was laughing, talking, eating, and drinking. A smiling Bernandean Broadus was working the Republican food booth, clad in jeans and a GOP T-shirt. We walked a bit further, and I bought a Demoburger and two barbecue beef sandwiches from the Kiwanis (MMMM!!). Mother looked around, commenting how much Lakefair had changed and how different the lakefront looked under construction.

We walked a bit further, then back to the car and drove home. We'd had a great time, a day we'll both always remember. Very fun, laid-back and tasty — everything Lakefair oughtta be. It was one of those days you thank god for.

In South Africa, a nation celebrates Nelson Mandela's birthday and his wedding to Graca Michel.

In Hawaii, the USS *Olympia* returns to duty after Lakefair.

And in Thurston County, a community basks in the balmy days of summer.

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Revolutionary Manuals 101: One Woman's Perspective

Wendy C. Ortiz

It's no twist of fate that I have myself a nice little library of very subversive, entertaining books, nor is it a mistake that I now work in a library. From a young age, my father took me to the library every Saturday, until it was just a given that "Saturday morning equals library."

Even as my father indoctrinated me into what is the most socialist institution we people share, he was very open with me about what he would read, and not read. He frowned upon my acquisition of the *LA Weekly* when I hit puberty, but

a conservative place through and through. So my father allowed me my youthful curiosity and my *LA Weekly* (never realizing it would fan the radical flames in me), but when I asked him if he ever read women authors, he said no. To his daughter, an aspiring writer, this seemed a joke. I asked, would you read a novel I wrote? If I got published? And he said he wasn't sure.

It was on this road I traveled to get where I am today—a no-apologies collector and reader of books by women of color and other feminists, as well as some male authors I've grown to like. But mostly, I feel a sense of urgency in

find the oasis that was Women Writers. Until, finally, I rarely read books by white males.

Let's call this an affirmative action of books, if you will. I go to the library. I pick up two books, one by a white guy, one by a black woman. I weigh them in my hands. The white guy goes back on the shelf. He may be more well-known, sold more copies, and spoken at more conferences, but the black woman is perhaps associated with a small feminist press I admire, selling only half as many copies, but is praised highly by word-of-mouth. Her book, then, becomes more worthy of my particular consideration.

My (growing) shelf of books by or about women revolutionaries includes selections by bell hooks, *Sexual State of the Union* by Susie Bright, *English is Broken Here* by Coco Fusco, *Vida* by Marge Piercy, *The Inhabited Woman* by Giaconda Belli, Dorothy Allison, Sandra Cisneros, Gloria Anzaldúa, Patricia J. Williams, Carol Queen and others.

I have pointedly carved out a niche for Latina writers on my shelves because 1) I am thirsty for their work, and 2) I must constantly battle the harsh non-recognition of these authors in the world, which in effect, attempts to silence me and others like me, especially when we want and deserve a space on the shelf, too. As much as I would like to rave about each book, I must limit praise to at least mentioning them, which is more than the corporate-owned media will often permit. As the most recent list of "the century's best English-language novels" published in the *Daily O* will attest, women, who we all know comprise roughly 51% of the population, only occupied less than 10% of the slots; writings by people of color had similar representation. I was pleased to note that my list was radically different than the biased and limited list of the "century's best novels" as chosen by Random House and printed by Gannett.

As for male authors, I possess the

following: Sherman Alexie (in quantity), Ruben Martinez, Alex Haley, Rius (author and illustrator of the original "—For Beginners" books), and most currently, Richard Delgado, a law professor and Critical Race Theorist.

What follows is a short blurb about some books that have escaped the (in)attention of much of the media, and may or many not be found in our local libraries for the same reason:

Margins by Terri de la Peña (The Seal Press, 1992). A novel that introduces us to a strong protagonist, who also happens to be a Chicana lesbian from So Cal! *Anadele!

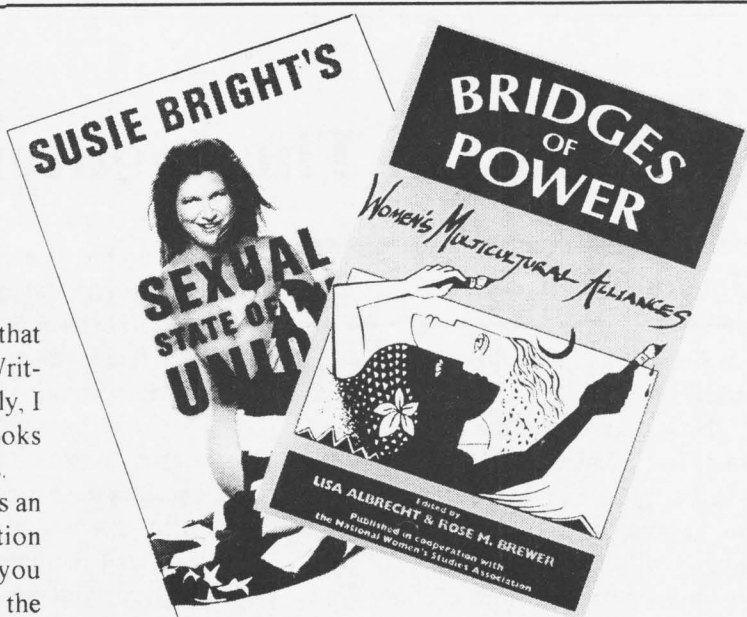
Loose Woman by Sandra Cisneros (Vintage, 1994). "Viva-la-vulva" and "Is it true/ all Mexicans/ carry knives?/ I laugh / -Lucky for you/ I'm not carrying my knife/ today." Two excellent reasons to read this book of poetry.

Bridges of Power: Women's Multicultural Alliances edited by Lisa Albrecht and Rose M. Brewer (New Society Publishers, 1990). Thoughtful essays about the issues "progressive" groups usually don't wanna talk about or conveniently forget, like alliance work, power and privilege, personal growth, and coalitions. Leave it to women to start this conversation!

The Rodrigo Chronicles: Conversations About America and Race by Richard Delgado (New York University Press, 1995). What continually floors me about this book is that, until now, I have never read a book, fiction or otherwise, that contained two intellectual men of color as protagonists (and, in fact, the only characters). The premise: a law professor and a student, Rodrigo, engage in conversations about racism, civil rights law, economic theory, socialism, and legal storytelling, from a Critical Race theory point of view. While wordy and loaded with footnotes, Delgado manages to skillfully navigate his fictional characters through discussions with conclusions such as white (-collar) crime, not black crime, is more costly and least punishable in this society; what to do about "the Many Good Folks Who Substitute Dialog for Social Action"; how democracy actually maintains racism; as well as some solutions to these issues.

I can only hope that others will find these books, read them as voraciously as I did, and stop to talk to me or others about what they read. Use affirmative action in your daily life: support the writings of women and people of color!

For more information about these books, either contact your local library or independent bookstore, or Wendy Ortiz by e-mail: wip@olywa.net. For a copy of "Latina Culture: Written Word," an annotated bibliography of over twenty titles by Latina authors prepared by Wendy Ortiz in 1995, please contact wip@olywa.net.



Use affirmative action in your daily life: support the writings of women and people of color!

never actually forbade me from it. The *LA Weekly* was, and still is, a forum for voices of dissent in the City of Angels (once you get past all the ads for liposuction and phone sex). Its social commentary and flagrant liberal to far-left vibe sometimes amazes me, for as anyone who has lived in LA knows, it's

surrounding myself with books by or about people of color. It began somewhat unconsciously as early as high school, when I would skim new books lists in newspapers and magazines and root out the names of women and read their books voraciously. In a desert of traditional canons by white men, I would

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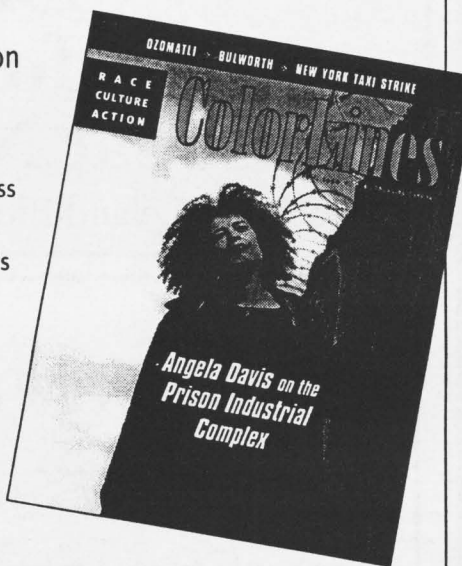
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On Renaming the Auto Maul Street

Pat Tassoni

Here are the first five paragraphs of an *Olympian* editorial entitled "Street Proposal Makes Sense." Most of the editorial was dedicated to dismissing Mayor Jacobs reluctance to change the name of the street because of the confusion it would cause. The *Olympian* never adequately addresses the "selling out" issue. The editorial ends by encouraging the City Council to "adopt the auto dealers' proposal." But not so fast, I have some suggestions of my own.

Part of the logic of this request is that the city of Olympia already has "Capital Mall Drive" as its sign reads, but to anyone outside blind consumerism it's known as "Capitalist Maul Drive." At the very least, we can make this one right from the get-go by amending the petition to say "**Auto Maul**." And besides they already have street names like "Carriage Loop" and "Carriage Drive" in their little Autogeddon world over there. Enough is enough.

Part of the arrogance of this request is that Olympia already is auto-dependent. It's interesting that as the auto-dealers were taxing themselves for the bridge, they "forgot" to include bicycle lanes along their stretch of road. I wonder what that means? In fact as a bicyclist, I find their stretch one of the most dangerous to ride because of the culture that comes alive when motorists are on their home turf. They race along at above the speed limit, and especially beware of those courtesy vans and dealer cars that have no worries about turning without a signal and cutting bicycles off. So at the very least, we can guarantee the safe and equal access of bicycles on this stretch of road by putting in bicycle lanes and stop signs every couple of hundred feet. We can even call it "**Safety Street**". After all what's more important, safety or traffic efficiency?

It should be no surprise that the *Olympian* would think this; and even less so that they would heartily go to bat for the auto dealers who generate how much revenue in advertisements in the paper? Hell, they even have their own weekly advertising supplement called "Wheels"! Maybe we should just cut out public interest completely and call the street "**Free Press Lane**". But with customers (you know — us people) on the receiving end of such an equation, the road would have to be modified to become a dead end to even out. Let's do the math: $0 + \text{"the daily zero"} = 0$.

TUESDAY
JULY 21, 1998

The Olympian

OPINION

Auto dealers on Olympia's west side have petitioned the Olympia City Council to change the name of a portion of Cooper Point Road to reflect the primary business in the area — the auto mall.

It's a good idea.

Quite frankly we don't understand Mayor Bob Jacobs' foot dragging. That section of roadway is dominated by auto dealerships, why shouldn't the roadway be called Auto Mall Boulevard? Or Auto Mall Drive? Or Auto Mall Way?

Let's use a little common sense here.

The owners of the auto dealerships say renaming the road and installing the accompanying signs would provide freeway visibility for a multi-million-dollar industry that attracts customers from a five-county region.

I will leave the response to this paragraph to David Albert's letter, printed to the right.

Yes, let's use a little common sense here and think seriously about an appropriate name, but let's look beyond the short term profit of a few: **Labor History** - "**Sit-Down Strike Lane**" or "**40-Hour Work-Week Lane**" in honor of what the automotive industry has helped do for workers. Or how about "**Picket Lane**"? Of course the street would have to be modified so there would be no crossing the picket line!

Environmental Education - "**Green House Effect Way**" in honor of our dearly departing ozone layer and its principle murderer, the American automobile.

Imperially Historical - "**Leschi Street**" in honor of the Nisqually to set the stark contrast of the way the earth used to be respected along with all its living things.

Social Remembrance - "**Iraqi Children Memorial Drive**" to honor the casualties of the Oil War.

Comically Politic - "**Cash Cow Boulevard**". This goes well with "**Debt Alley**".

Or my personal favorite - "**Work To Drive**" to underpin that people work 30% of their time for their cars.

My question is how much of the millions of dollars stays in our community? And how much goes back to the home office where the car companies hoard it while downsizing? And how much do you own when your payments to the bank or loan company are just a percentage of the principle? Yes, the dealers and oil companies, banks and loan companies, and the *Olympian* and other media are the ones really making out like bandits here. Let's do the math: $4 + 4 + 2 = -10$ because you're in debt! Know wonder the *Olympian* doesn't understand! Let's just call it the truth: "**Debt Alley**".

If the dealers really want to put this before the community, then let's discuss it. There are many ways of approaching the issue. Let's talk about a paving moratorium. Let's talk about public transportation. Let's talk about alternative transportation. Let's talk about pollution regulation.

Let's put this issue on the ballot and let the people vote on it. It should be a completely write-in primary election with the top ten vote-getters going to the general election in November. I doubt that will happen, so do the next best thing and call and petition the city council with your suggestions!

Government Property For Sale To Corporations

The following letter first appeared in the *Olympian* on July 25, 1998 with the headline "Sell facilities to highest bidder".

David H. Albert

The *Olympian's* July 21st editorial suggesting the city rename part of Cooper Point Boulevard "Auto Mall Road" makes a lot of sense. But I would respectfully suggest that in these times of scarce government resources, the city of Olympia should consider selling, or better, leasing the name.

In fact, I'd suggest all government property, tangible or intangible, be made available for leasing at public auction. We already have the **Seafirst-University of Washington Football Stadium**, the **Safeco-Mariners Ball Park**, the **KeyArena**, and right here, of recent memory, the **AT&T Capital Lakefair**. We could call the stretch of Interstate 5 between Olympia and Trosper Road **Costco Highway**, the Marvin Way interchange **Albertson Circle**. Let's rename the schools — we already allow all that advertising and marketing inside the schools, why not on the outside? Rent billboard space and, especially, the sides of the schools too, like public buses. It's all for a good cause. School football teams could be a financial bonanza — we could have the **Capital High School Big Macs** versus the **Olympia High School Whoppers!**

State government would do well to lease the intangibles, too. Why not lease the titles of gubernatorial appointees or elected officials? We could have the Washington state — **Archer-Daniels Midland director of agriculture**, or the **Warner-Lambert secretary of health**. Why not the **Wrigley's Gum superintendent of public instruction**, the **Boeing speaker of the house** or the **R.J. Reynolds attorney general**? Each time a new person is elected or appointed, the title could be released and new stationary drawn up for each official with the company logo affixed next to the state seal. Welfare recipients could do their share, too. In exchange for food stamps, they could be required to bear the name of a sponsoring company. Instead of Mary Smith, we could have **Fluke Starbucks**.

In reality, why do we need the name "Washington" at all? The first president never even deigned to visit us, it causes confusion with the other Washington (some people might mistakenly be going there at a loss of tourist revenue to us), and most critically, it doesn't bring us any income. As a taxpayer, I object to having the name of our state given away without any recompense, in wanton squandering of state resources.

Why not **MicroState**?

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photo by Wendy Ortiz

The Han Young Strike

Maquiladoras Workers Vote in Union

Campaign for Labor Rights

Mexican Federal 5th District Judge Maria Lourdes Villagomez Guillon has now ruled that the Baja state government acted in an unlawful manner to declare the Han Young strike non-existent. The judge has not yet issued a ruling on whether the strike should go forward. Meanwhile, pending that ruling, the work-

name of "upholding the law."

There have been subsequent threats against Enrique Hernandez.

The Han Young workers have voted three times for a union of their own choosing in union certification elections. However, Han Young management and Mexican labor officials have steadfastly refused to accept their decision and have responded with continuous obstruction, threats and violence.

It appears that the state continues trying to pursue unlawful actions to destroy the legitimate efforts of Mexican workers to organize themselves in the name of "upholding the law."

ers have a legal basis for continuing their strike.

The State government of Baja California has stepped up its actions of harassment and repression against independent union organizing in the maquiladora sector. On July 4, Ricardo Gonzalez Cruz, Subsecretary of the State government announced to the media that the state had heard there was organizing by workers' in other Tijuana maquiladoras who were enamored with the Han Young workers struggle and want to establish independent unions. He stated that the state would intervene in any such actions and would use "all the rigors of the law" to halt this movement.

The following Monday, the "amparos" (court orders) preventing the arrests on false pretexts of organizer Enrique Hernandez and attorney Jose Angel Penaflor were canceled without hearing or notification to them. Police were awaiting them in their offices to arrest them. They were able to get amparos against their arrests from another judge. Nevertheless it appears that the state continues trying to pursue unlawful actions to destroy the legitimate efforts of Mexican workers to organize themselves in the

Han Young management and the Mexican government want to crush the Han Young workers' struggle. They fully understand that if the Han Young workers win this strike for union recognition it will only be the beginning. A victory at Han Young is certain to spark a wave of unionization throughout Mexico's infamous Maquiladora Zone where about one million workers work for very low

**Han Young
Strikers from Mexico
in Town for One Night Only!**

FRI, AUG 7, 7PM
Speaking at Liberation Cafe
Above Bulldog News in Downtown Olympia
SAT, AUG 8, 11AM
Picket at Hyundai Dealer
4416 Lacey Blvd, Lacey

Meet these Mexican labor activists and learn about their union struggle in a maquiladora factory near Tijuana. Their employer Han Young supplies chassis for Hyundai, and is refusing to recognize the independent union they elected. The Mexican government is also complicit in the violent suppression of their organizing efforts. Labor donated (IWW).



wages and endure harsh conditions of exploitation in some three thousand plants.

The Han Young strikers are not receiving any strike pay. Their only source of income is the money raised by their supporters. Consequently, the need for money to sustain their strike for union recognition is desperate. That is why members of the San Diego-based Support Committee for Maquiladora Workers and other supporters of the Han Young

workers are organizing a speaking tour along the West Coast of the United States and Canada. It will feature one of the Han Young strikers and a translator.

The principal aim of this tour is to address the Han Young workers' urgent need for financial support. The tour will also pave the way for a second North America-wide speaking tour later this summer and it is meant to encourage ongoing activities in solidarity with the Han Young workers.

NAFTA Unconstitutional?!

Mike Dolan

Yesterday, the United Steelworkers of America (an organizational affiliate of the Citizens Trade Campaign), along with the "Made in America Foundation," filed an historic lawsuit in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama, challenging the constitutionality of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). As we have often argued, NAFTA had many of the indicia of a full-blown treaty, but was treated (and

war, peace and the military, but includes "treaties of commerce." That precise phrase appears in the Articles of Confederation that preceded the Constitution, and in reports of the committees that drafted the Constitution itself.

It therefore is clear that at least some agreements relating to foreign trade must be classified as treaties and cannot be adopted without a two-thirds vote of the Senate. That conclusion has been endorsed by Professor Laurence Tribe of the Harvard Law School, in a 1995 article in the Harvard Law Review. See 108 Harv. L. Rev. 1221, 1258-1278.

NAFTA was not approved as required by the Constitution's Treaty Clause; NAFTA therefore cannot be given legal effect.

passed in the Congress) as a mere trade agreement. In this historic legal challenge, the Plaintiffs are demanding that NAFTA be declared null and void and that the President inform Mexico and Canada that the U.S. is getting out.

NAFTA Lawsuit:

Plaintiffs' Legal Position

The Constitution provides a specific procedure for the making of treaties, which requires that "two thirds of the Senators present [must] concur." Art. II, sec. 2, cl. 2. The framers of the Constitution understood that the word "treaty" is not confined to agreements relating to

The courts have not yet spoken as to where the line falls between treaties that require a supermajority in the Senate, and other kinds of international agreements, to which the Treaty Clause may not apply. Virtually all major international agreements into which this country has entered, whether formally designated as treaties or otherwise — including, for example, the GATT — did in fact receive approval by two-thirds of the Senate, and therefore the question whether such an agreement could validly have been adopted without such approval did not arise.

NAFTA, however, fell short of a two-

thirds majority; and it would be difficult to conceive of an international economic agreement that could have more of the hallmarks of a treaty than NAFTA. The House Ways and Means Committee has written that NAFTA "is the most comprehensive trade agreement ever negotiated and creates the world's largest integrated market for goods and services." House Report No. 103-361(I), p. 8 (1993). NAFTA binds the three signatory nations together in a way that is unique in the annals of American trade agreements; indeed, it is the economic equivalent of a military alliance.

Furthermore, Mexico, which, like the United States, has a special constitutional procedure for adopting treaties, followed that procedure in adopting NAFTA; and Mexico specifically describes NAFTA as a "treaty." NAFTA also qualifies as a treaty under the State Department's guidelines. See State Dep't Circular 175 (1955), as amended, 11 Foreign Affairs Manual, ch. 700, sec. 721.3.

The Founding Fathers adopted the Treaty Clause so that long-term international agreements with far-reaching impact such as NAFTA cannot be implemented unless two-thirds of the Senate concurs. Although some might prefer a system under which even an agreement like NAFTA could be put into effect by a bare majority, that is not our constitutional system. And, as the Supreme Court reminded us just last month in the Line Item Veto Case, absent a constitutional amendment, the procedures set out in the Constitution for enacting laws or treaties must be scrupulously adhered to. NAFTA was not approved as required by the Constitution's Treaty Clause; NAFTA therefore cannot be given legal effect.

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After the defeat of the GM strike: What way forward for auto workers?

World Socialist Web Site

The starting point for a serious assessment of the General Motors strike is to state bluntly the truth about its result. After 54 days, the longest shutdown of GM since the 1970 national strike, the struggle ended in an unmitigated defeat for GM workers and auto workers in general. The outcome will have the most serious consequences in the coming weeks and months.

This is only the latest in a long line of defeated strikes, smashed locals and contract concessions going back to the Chrysler bailout of 1979-80 and culminating in the debacle at Caterpillar. Given the obvious failure of the policy of the United Auto Workers, and its proven inability to mount an effective struggle against the auto companies, workers face the need to draw a balance sheet of the entire outlook and program of the union, and begin the process of rebuilding the labor movement on fundamentally new foundations.

No one can seriously claim, including those who voted to approve the agreements that ended the strike, that any of the

ton, Ohio brake plants, in exchange for a company commitment to put off closing or selling the plants for some 16 months. But the agreement goes even further. GM is telling Wall Street that the UAW gave a blanket pledge not to call any local strikes before a new national contract is signed in late 1999.

Thus the union has promised labor peace while the company accelerates its downsizing campaign. Wall Street considers the cutting of some 300,000 GM jobs since the late 1970s to be inadequate. It is demanding an additional cut of 38,000 to 50,000 jobs over the next few years. On August 3 GM's directors and executives are reviewing a plan for the shutdown of more assembly plants, the sell-off of the Delphi parts division, and the elimination of tens of thousands of manufacturing and white-collar jobs.

The UAW's capitulation will encourage all of corporate America to press ahead with its assault on the working class. On the same day the GM settlement was reached, Chrysler chairman Robert Eaton announced that his company would seek further cost savings and productivity increases from UAW members in next year's national contract.

UAW President Stephen Yokich and Vice President Richard Shoemaker called off the Flint strike despite the solid position of the rank and file. Indeed, a major factor in the UAW's capitulation was evidence of growing militancy and anger among the workers. On the eve of the walkouts in Flint, workers at GM's Mansfield, Ohio plant threatened to strike after the company transferred stamping dies from the Flint Metal Center to their plant. The UAW International stepped into to squelch the protest.

Then UAW locals in Michigan, Ohio, Kentucky, Wisconsin, and the Saturn plant in Tennessee voted to authorize local strike. When management reopened plants using parts from outside suppliers, GM workers in Romulus, Michigan and Bowling Green, Kentucky held angry protests and disrupted production.

The overwhelming strike vote at the Saturn plant presented the UAW leadership with an ominous indication that workers were turning away from the corporatist policy promoted by the union since the early 1980s. Saturn was established as a model of union-management partnership, with its own contract based entirely on the premise that workers had no interests independent of those of the company.

The UAW leaders feared that an escalation of the confrontation could lead to the eruption of other unsanctioned job actions, including wildcat strikes and the defiance of a possible federal back-to-work order. The union officials' rapid acquiescence to GM's demand that the legality of the Flint strikes to be decided by an arbitrator demonstrated how eager the union bureaucracy is to give up, in practice, the right of workers to strike.

At no point did the UAW officials even consider calling out the union's half million members in the auto industry. The AFL-CIO, headed by President John Sweeney and Secretary-Treasurer Richard Trumka, remained silent throughout.

Opposed social principles

The central issue in the strike was the fight to defend jobs. Workers walked out to oppose the relentless downsizing and movement of jobs to low-wage regions, which had already led to the loss of nearly 50,000 jobs in the Flint area alone since

the 1970s.

In taking a stand against GM's attack on jobs and its pursuit of cheap labor, the GM workers were objectively thrust into a confrontation against the entire auto industry and its major Wall Street investors. Downsizing has been used for the last two decades to undermine job security, build up a reserve of unemployed workers and undercut the efforts of employed workers to maintain their wage levels and working conditions. This has been at the heart of the profit boom of the Big Three auto companies and corporate America as a whole, and the spectacular rise of share values on the stock exchange.

Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan, in remarks before Congress last month, in the midst of the GM strike, summed up the attitude of the entire ruling class to the auto workers. The most powerful representative of US bankers alluded to the strike as a worrisome sign that the "reservoir" of unemployed workers was contracting. He all but demanded the defeat of the GM strike, warning that "increasingly confident workers might place gradually escalating pressures on wages and costs."

The struggle at GM was more than a battle between one section of workers and a single employer. It was a collision between two irreconcilably opposed social principles. GM represented the entire class of capitalist owners and investors and their insistence that the human needs of workers be subordinated to the imperatives of the market. The strikers stood for the whole of the working class, whose most basic needs—secure and decent-paying jobs, health care, education, housing—can be fulfilled only if society is reorganized in the interests of those whose labor produces the wealth.

The basic issue in the GM strike was not simply "corporate greed." It was not at heart a matter of subjective motives or the excesses of a particular company. The basic issue was the conflict between the working class and the capitalist system.

GM tacitly acknowledged this in the course of the strike, when it threw down the gauntlet to the UAW and declared the union was violating the law because it was challenging the prerogative of the company to determine investment policy and employment levels. The UAW leadership immediately denied the union was doing any such thing.

That, however, was precisely the issue in the strike, and remains the issue in its aftermath. Who, indeed, is to determine how the resources and wealth created by working people are allocated? On what social principle is the economy to be organized? The UAW leaders start from the same standpoint as the company: that the capitalist owners have the right to make the basic decisions that affect the lives of millions of working people. That is why the union is incapable of putting forward a viable program to defend the jobs of auto workers.

To fundamentally change the present economic order, working people must wage a struggle against the political system which maintains it. The reorganization of economic life to meet the needs of working people, not corporate profit, means ending the political domination of big business over society. It is therefore a political struggle, which can be waged only when the working class breaks from the two parties of big business and builds its own, mass independent party.

The UAW's alliance with the Democratic Party exists above all for the purpose of preventing the construction of such a genuine party of labor. The UAW's support for the Democrats and Clinton

worked entirely against the auto workers during the GM strike.

Clinton and his Labor Secretary Alexis Herman were in constant contact with the UAW leadership, pushing it to end the strike on the company's terms. Fed Chairman Greenspan's statements before Congress exposed the myth that the Clinton administration was "neutral." Clinton not only reappointed Greenspan in 1995, he has regularly praised the policy of the Federal Reserve.

An international strategy

A viable strategy to defend jobs must proceed from the fact that the auto industry, more than ever before, is a global enterprise. Workers confront vast transnational corporations, and they can only successfully be fought on an international basis.

The UAW is opposed to the unity of auto workers throughout the world for the same reason that it opposes the fight against the private ownership of the auto industry. The privileges and perks of the UAW officialdom are based on the defense of American big business at home and overseas.

As all workers know, the corporations use their global presence as a weapon against workers in every country. The ever-present threat that the company will close a plant and move to a lower-wage region in the US or abroad is used to hammer down workers' resistance. For US auto workers the struggle against the movement of jobs to low-wage areas is a matter of survival. The question is, on what basis can this be struggle be effectively waged?

It cannot be waged on the basis of the UAW's nationalist orientation, which pits American workers against their class brothers and sisters in other countries and plays into the hands of the corporations. It can only be based on an international strategy that counterposes the global unity and power of auto workers to the global reach of the auto giants. The precondition for such a strategy is the defense of the jobs of all auto workers, whether American, Mexican, Canadian, European, or Asian.

During the strike there was not the slightest attempt by the UAW to unite American workers with their counterparts in the rest of GM's global empire, particularly in Mexico. Instead there were repeated eruptions of anti-Mexican chauvinism from union officials, which at times were echoed among sections of the rank and file. GM exploited this, telling Mexican workers not to support the strikes because the UAW wanted to throw them out of their jobs.

The basic issue in the GM strike was not simply "corporate greed." The basic issue was the conflict between the working class and the capitalist system.

demands of the workers were met. On the contrary, the UAW caved in to all of the demands of GM and Wall Street for downsizing and cost-cutting.

The agreement accepts the axing over the next 18 months of 1,300 of the 9,200 jobs at the two Flint, Michigan plants that went out on strike in June, precipitating the eventual closure of virtually all of GM's North American operations. The deal moreover allows for further plant closings and layoffs at other GM locations. It also establishes new machinery at the highest level of the company and the union to suppress further resistance to downsizing, forced overtime, unsafe working conditions and speed-up.

Given the record of the UAW, particularly over the last two decades, the outcome of the strike was entirely predictable. Nevertheless, this betrayal marks a new point of departure in the disintegration of the UAW. The auto union long ago stopped calling national strikes against the Big Three American car companies, in line with its embrace of the corporatist policy of labor-management "partnership." With this latest settlement, it has given up the local strike weapon as well.

The UAW acknowledges that the agreement includes a no-strike pledge at the Delphi Flint East plant and two Day-

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It's Our Party

Ron Jacobs

As many of readers of Works In Progress know, there has been little reason to vote in the past several national elections. This apparent apathy has been the cause of much concern amongst mainstream political pundits. Why, they wonder, aren't Americans voting? Why do they no longer care about politics?

If you ask someone from the recently formed Labor Party, the answer is simple. Most Americans are less politically involved than ever before because neither

tively reaching out to others, hoping to build a genuine party capable of winning elections. Unlike the two corporate parties, Labor Party members write the party platform and candidates will be held to that platform.

In a recent conversation with Terry Bouricius—an active member of both the Labor Party and Vermont's Progressive Coalition, as well as a four term state legislator representing the Old North End of Burlington, VT.—I asked him a few questions about the Labor Party's position on some issues important to Works in Progress readers. What follows is an

Most Americans are less politically involved than ever before because neither the Democrats or the Republicans represent their interests.

the Democrats or the Republicans represent their interests or, as the Labor Party literature puts it: The bosses have two parties, it's time that the workers have one of their own. Founded in 1996, the Labor Party was formed to provide working people in the United States with a genuine voice in local, state and national politics. It does not currently run candidates for election, nor does it plan on doing so until at least the year 2000. Instead, the current membership is ac-

abridged transcript of that conversation. While some of the conversation is local in nature, in general it relates to folks in Thurston County, WA. As much as it does to folks in Burlington, VT.

Ron: How does the Labor Party differ from the Vermont Progressive Coalition? Does it work with them at all?

Terry B: The Labor Party is working on many of the same issues the Progressives have organized around. Many of the

people who've built the Progressive electoral movement in Vermont are actively involved with building the Labor Party (LP). Bernie Sanders was one of the first people in Vermont to join the Labor Party. The biggest differences are that the LP is a national movement, that it has trade unions as its organizational backbone and as dues-paying members, and most importantly that the LP is a working class membership organization which advances its members' interests both inside and outside the electoral arena.

Ron: We know that the LP hopes to represent the interests of workers, but how does it help the unemployed?

Terry B: We are sponsors of the campaign for a 28th amendment to the U.S. constitution—an amendment that would guarantee every American who is capable and willing a job that pays a livable wage.

Ron: How about those on public assistance? What about workfare?

Terry B: We are opposed to the Clinton workfare program. Essentially, it blames the victim. The reason for unemployment is that there are not enough decent paying jobs in the current economy. Workfare helps to keep wages unreasonably low by forcing those people to work at low wage jobs.

Ron: We know that young people often feel discriminated against in the workplace and when looking for work. How does the LP address this issue?

Terry B: Well, a liberal might say we need training programs, but that's just a shell game. We support training but what we really support is a guaranteed job for all. Our call for a constitutional amendment guaranteeing everyone who is willing and capable a decent job at a livable wage applies to youth as well. Current employment practices rely on the ebb and flow of the labor market. The LP emphasizes humanitarian values, not market values.

Ron: How does the LP feel about mili-

tary expenditures and how would it change the priorities of the current government in D.C.?

Terry B: The LP supports a peace economy with full protection of current defense industry workers during the transition from the current war-based economy. We believe it's not necessary to be protective of militarism to be in favor of full employment. As for some of the other priorities, the LP is deadset against trade agreements like NAFTA, GATT, MAI and other such treaties that are destructive of what most people consider to be measures of civil society. We support fair trade that satisfies basic labor and human rights. Free trade is just another phrase for global domination by the corporations. We are opposed to that.

Ron: How does the LP resist "union boss" pressures?

Terry B: Unions do affiliate with the LP. The structure is this: some seats on the national committee will be allocated to unions based on the numbers of individuals in those unions who have joined the party. Those individuals also have a role as individuals. We see this as a two way street to promote democracy in the unions. Some union locals have attempted to block rank and file support for the LP. However, this is more often because of the political conservatism of those locals' leaders than anything else.

Ron: Any other comments?

Terry B: The LP is worker-friendly. To me that means we are anti-corporate, civil libertarian, and pro-civil rights. Although our members political views do vary, we believe in progressive income taxes, inheritance taxes, and a higher corporate tax rate. We are a membership party, not just a voters party.

For more info about the Labor Party contact: Labor Party PO Box 53177, Washington, D.C. 20009 Or check out their website: <http://www.labor.net.org/lpa/>

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Corporate Take Over of Education

Julie Light

If you want to get a sense of how pervasive corporate influence in U.S. education is, just take a tour of your neighborhood school. Enter the cafeteria and you'll probably find wrappers from Taco Bell, Arby's and Subway, fast food chains that provide school lunches. The third grade class may be learning math by counting tootsie rolls. Science curricula might well come from Dow Chemical, Procter and Gamble, Dupont or Exxon.

If you live in Jefferson County, Colorado, Pepsi donated \$2 million to build a school football stadium in exchange for exclusive rights to sell soft drinks in all 140 district schools and to advertise in school gymnasiums and athletic fields. That deal is estimated to earn the company \$7.3 million over seven years. If your local high school is like 40 percent of secondary schools in the U.S., students get their current events from Channel One, a twelve-minute television news program with two minutes of commercials. One Texas school even rented its roof as advertising space aimed at airplanes flying overhead.

It doesn't end there. Education in the U.S. has become big business. The "education industry," a term coined by EduVentures, an investment banking firm, is estimated to be worth between \$630 and \$680 billion in the United States. The stock value of 30 publicly traded educational companies is growing twice as fast as the Dow Jones Average. Brokerage firms like Lehman Brothers and Montgomery Securities have specialists seeking out venture capital for the "education industry."

"The timing for entry into the education and training market has never been better," glows a Montgomery Securities report. "The problems with American education have elevated education reform to a high political priority and technology is demanding and enabling a transformation in the delivery of education."

Analysts at the conservative think tanks, like the Heritage Foundation, Hudson and Pioneer Institutes, tell us that the problems in education stem from inefficient, bloated school bureaucracies. Conservatives talk about "school choice," referring to vouchers and other public/private schemes. Free marketeers strike a chord with many parents when they point out that families do not have the choices they deserve, especially in urban school districts.

However, according to progressive school activists, the problems in education have their roots in decades of unequal school funding. They say that as long as school districts are financed through property taxes, kids in poor, urban districts will never receive an equal education with suburban schoolkids. Wide disparities in school resources open the door for corporations to fill the gap (and their pockets), especially in inner city schools.

Real choice, progressive school reformers argue, would mean that all schools were good. Classroom innovation, computer technology, small classes and actively involved parents would be the hallmark not only of a handful of the best public schools, but of the entire

education system. While conservatives and their corporate partners would have us leave schoolchildren to the whims of the market, progressives advocate creating a more equitable tax structure that would make corporations pay their fair share towards education. Access to quality education should be a social issue for educators, parents and activists. Instead, policy makers are increasingly framing the issue in terms of market ideology.

The education industry has some heavy hitters on its side. Conservative economist Milton Friedman, who first proposed school vouchers as early as 1955, argues that public education needs to be radically overhauled to accommodate the free market. In a 1995 opinion piece in

Conservative economist Milton Friedman, who first proposed school vouchers as early as 1955, argues that public education needs to be radically overhauled to accommodate the free market.

the Washington Post, Friedman suggests that "Such reconstruction can be achieved only by privatizing a major segment of the educational system—i.e. by enabling a private for-profit industry to develop that will offer effective competition to public schools." For Friedman, school vouchers, which allow parents to take tax dollars out of local school budgets and spend them in private schools, are a critical step in dismantling what he describes as the "public monopoly" on education.

The relationship between free enterprise and public education is certainly nothing new. For over 100 years, education has been shaped to fit the needs of business. During the industrial revolution, public education was designed to produce a factory ready, disciplined, workforce. However, since then, public education has become a battleground between elite business interests, and those school reformers who see it as an equalizing force in society. Radical school activists in the 1960's tried to bring about innovations that would tackle institutional racism and make public schools more democratic. More recently, however, free market advocates seem to be winning out. With the new "knowledge-based" economy this means some kids will inevitably be left out; and they are almost sure to be low-income children of color in poor school districts.

According to Libero Della Piana, Senior Research Associate at the Applied Research Center, three tiers in U.S. education have emerged over the last decade. One tier prepares an elite group of students for jobs in the high-tech, information economy, while another prepares students for low-wage, service sector jobs. "What corporate educational reform is about is retooling education to meet the needs of the new industrial revolution," notes Della Piana, in a Corporate Watch interview: Race and Classroom. Della Piana further points out that at the bottom there is a third tier: kids who will never work, but rather go straight from school to jail.

Since the beginning of the 1990's several companies, dubbed "Educational Maintenance Organizations" by Wall Street, have emerged. These for-profit companies, like Channel One founder

Chris Whittle's Edison Project, contract with school districts around the country, using taxpayer funds and some venture capital to run public schools. Often it is poor school districts, where parents and school boards are the most desperate, that turn to private companies. "The Edison project is brilliant at marketing," observes Lindsay Hershenhorn, a first grade teacher at a troubled San Francisco school that recently voted to contract with the Edison Project. "They play on parents' and teachers' frustration with the lack of money for education," adds Hershenhorn who refuses to teach in a school run by the Edison Project.

Some teachers and parents fear that, just as HMOs have made the financial

bottom line the standard for health care delivery, EMOs will be more accountable to investors than to students. So far, EMO experiments have survived in less than one hundred schools. In fact, these companies are not interested in running the entire school system. Providing a universal service for all schoolchildren would not be profitable, and many of these young companies have yet to pay dividends to their investors. However, they are bringing profit oriented interests to bear on the educational system.

"The public benefit and the profitability (of EMOs) are two very different things," Alex Molnar, author of Giving Kids the Business, told Corporate Watch. "A market by definition can't address issues of equity," adds Molnar, Director of the Center for the Analysis of Commercialism in Education. While the EMOs say they have invested millions in curriculum development, critics charge that they are "cookie cutter schools," whose lesson plans are developed out of a central office. They worry that just as HMOs have depersonalized health care, EMOs will provide one-size-fits-all education. And they say that many of the teaching innovations promoted by the EMOs are already in use in some public schools.

The defunding of public education is also part of a worldwide trend. In many countries it is often a component of neoliberal economic reform or structural adjustment mandated by the World Bank or IMF. One of the first governments in the world to experiment with school vouchers in the 1980's was Chile's military dictatorship. As Martin Carnoy points out in the Global Perspectives section of this feature, while the Chilean experiment did little for poor schoolchildren, it was part of a broad trend towards privatization that included defunding other parts of the social safety net, including social security. Some of the proposals tested by U.S. policy advisors in Chile are now coming home to roost as legislation being debated in the U.S. Congress and state houses across the country. Some Republicans have even proposed abolishing the Department of Education.

"Privatizing public education is the

center piece, the grand prize, of the right wing's overall agenda to dismantle social entitlements and government responsibility for social needs," explains education consultant Ann Bastian, in a piece entitled "Lessons from the Voucher War" which is reproduced in this feature.

For more than a decade conservatives have been organizing around school reform, tapping into parents' and teachers' real concern with the lack of educational options. Corporations have seized on the opening provided by educators' and families' frustration with the lack of school resources. Parents, teachers and students can roll back the corporate take over of education, but only if they offer an alternative vision. One in which corporations pay taxes instead of getting free advertising and tax write-offs for donated promotional materials; one in which school systems do not abandon students to for-profit companies, and one in which educational choice is a basic right for all families, not just a few.

Julie Light is with the Corporate Watch Editorial Board, <http://www.corpwatch.org>

The Corporate Takeover of Public Schools

The corporate reach into U.S. classrooms today is stunning. Big business sponsors everything from lesson plans to football stadiums, from classroom posters to athletic uniforms. It doesn't end there. A handful of for-profit companies are contracting with local school districts to manage public schools. Critics charge school boards with selling kids to the highest bidder. Meanwhile, in many countries, the defunding of public education is part and parcel of structural adjustment packages that savage the social safety net. Wall Street thinks there is money to be made in the schools and has trumpeted the "education industry" as the next hot investment. In this feature you'll find: Corporate Watch's clickable schoolhouse. Explore it for a floor to ceiling look at the full extent of commercialism in the classroom. Pedagogy for Profit: Will Educational Maintenance Organizations do for public schools what HMOs have done for health care delivery in the US? Our report includes a look at a local school district's recent battle over privatization. Interviews, including RealAudio with Alex Molnar, author of Giving Kids the Business and researcher/activist Libero Della Piana on how existing inequities in public education open the door for corporate involvement. A summary of Consumer Report's groundbreaking study "Captive Kids." A case study of Channel One, a commercial classroom broadcast beamed into 40% of U.S. secondary school homerooms. Lessons from the Voucher Wars: do vouchers represent real choice for most families? Defunding education is a worldwide trend. We look at examples from Chile, Mexico, Canada and the Asia/Pacific region.

Check out our new interactive forum. The forum provides Corporate Watch users a chance to discuss issues of globalization and corporate accountability. We'll be posting questions from time to time, but we're sure you'll also have issues you want to discuss. The forum is collaboration with Znet. A link can be found in the letters to editor section of our site.

A Few Thoughts About Freedom

David Zink

In the July issue of "WiP", Frank Hoffman asked readers for some input about Freedom: what we thought freedom is, what we're willing to struggle for, and what rights we're willing to compromise for security and safety. Important questions indeed. To help promote some dialogue on this, here's my 2 cent's worth - some things I am working for, and feel are important to support.

First, there are the constitutionally-guaranteed freedoms, or rights, to do certain things as long as you don't hurt anybody else, or infringe upon other's inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These are listed in the 1st 10 amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Although they may be constitutionally guaranteed, we must not for a moment take them for granted. Even though we may wish that some right-wing creep like Rush Limbaugh, or a Nazi would just shut up, we should never try to silence them. Instead, we must make use of every opportunity to get our message out. Always fight for more freedom with responsibility, not less.

The 2nd Amendment - the right to keep & bear arms - is a contentious issue that many Liberals, for good reason, would like to see altered. Yet, I can easily foresee a situation where armed defense of strikers, clinics which provide abortion services, and co-ops may be necessary.

But in a decent society, there are also freedoms from certain things. Rights not (yet) formalized constitutionally. If you are unemployed, and your family is homeless and hungry, constitutional rights may not seem so important. Those who make \$10K a year have a death rate three times that of people with annual incomes of \$30K or more. Simply put, poverty kills. The Labor Party is campaigning for a 28th Amendment which would guarantee every American worker the right to a job at union wages. This could be seen as a "transitional demand" - one which is impossible to meet under capitalism and propels the movement for a better system.

One important freedom is the freedom from ignorance. Many feel that the level of political ignorance in America is appalling. In this country, we have the right to vote for a set of politicians and referendum issues every couple of years. The concentration of wealth has caused a severe restriction of democratic freedom. Two parties, both pledged to continue the capitalist system, have a lock on political power. Most people go into the voting booth to find that there are more than two parties on the ballot, but they probably never heard of them and are basically ignorant about, since those minority parties don't have the money to reach the electorate with their message that the two big capitalist parties have. A truly free society would demand clean elections based upon open discussion of the real issues and consideration of several options, not just those of the Republicrats. The present situation is rife with political ignorance, which slows down the solution of many societal problems. Unfortunately, the Right tends not to share my yearning for free & open debate of the issues.

Freedom is organically tied to power - the power of a citizen and the

community to make its own decisions. The real, day-to-day, decisions of what is to be produced, by whom, and where are made without any input by those most affected. Freedom to enjoy a clean, pollution-free environment is in danger as long as the big decisions are made by absentee-owners who probably never set foot in your community, and, beyond profit-maximization, couldn't care less about what happens there.

The best guarantee of civil rights is democracy. And, since inequality is at the root of much, if not most, crime,

don't control the technology and the wealth it produces. The owning class, which uses this expropriated wealth to buy political influence far greater than their numerical strength, controls it. Some changes are clearly needed:

1. We need to push for more worker's ownership and control over business and the means of production, in which the people that know the most about the business (the workers who actually run it) have more input and elect their leaders, and the absentee-owners have less input, into decision-making. This is very

It is criminal that the basic material & spiritual needs of so many are obviously not being met, while we have the productive capacity and so much work that needs to be done.

Democracy is also good protection against crime.

Frank is concerned about panhandlers. I would submit that they wouldn't be bothering people if they felt it wasn't necessary. Twenty years ago, panhandlers were a rare sight compared with today. What happened? The problem is that wealth concentrated in a few hands has undermined the freedom of the rest of us, the vast majority. Concentration of wealth into the hands of the few at the top causes the impoverishment of the rest. This has led to a situation where people at one end of the wealth spectrum live in gated neighborhoods, while many at the other end are panhandling or wearing "Will work for Food!" signs. Poverty has forced some into illegal activities, some into prison. Megan Cornish hit the nail on the head in the July "WiP" in her article on the Soaring Costs of Housing:

"The times cry out for movement leaders who will support the fledgling Labor Party, build a mass movement of the employed & unemployed, and fight for a decent life for all workers."

In a developed socialist economy, panhandling will vanish. Are you tired of being jostled for spare change? Then fight the system that breeds growing numbers of panhandlers!

Modern technology - robotics, computers, etc. - has made labor incredibly productive. There is no need for starvation and poverty anywhere. There is no need for some workers to feel compelled to put in so much overtime - time stolen from their loved ones. It is criminal that the basic material & spiritual needs of so many are obviously not being met, while we have the productive capacity and so much work that needs to be done. This is a rational result of an irrational system. The reason for it is simple: the people

much a freedom and empowerment thing.

2. A shorter work week would spread the available work around. If a 30-hour week was the norm, 25% more people would have gainful employment. More of our time would be freed up for more exciting things and quality time with our families.

Free enterprise is definitely among the freedoms worth fighting for. But we need a genuine, not bogus, free enterprise system. In 1997, Bill Gates doubled his wealth from \$18 billion to \$39 billion. According to Douglas Mattern, president of the Association of World Citizens, "It would take a \$100K a-year engineer in Silicon Valley 200,000 years to make what Gates made last year." Yes: an entrepreneur who takes risks has a right to a reward. But this is an example of crossing the line into excess. Workers who take risks have a right to a reward also. Remember: nature and labor is the source of all wealth.

The current elitist system is not free, and is unfit to claim the loyalty and allegiance of a free and democratic people. Let us be clear. Free enterprise can only be free if we, the people, join together and democratically choose what is to be produced, how its to be produced, and how the rewards are to be allocated. The natural resources and means of production must be freed from the smiley-faced parasites now destroying it. Another important freedom is the Freedom to choose your own Doctor. Not from the restricted list your HMO provides, but whichever doctor you want, assuming s/he's accepting new patients. HMOs contribute nothing to the quality of American medical care, except complications and restrictions. For that, they skim off 20% of the U.S. medical budget. Compare that to how hassle-free it is in Canada, Australia, New Zealand,

which have a "single-payer" system. You pick whatever doctor you like, and you pay with your health-care card. The money comes out of a progressive tax system where the more you make, the higher your tax rate.

It usually takes a very good reason for workers to go out on strike. They don't go out on strike unless they feel that they must. For working people, the freedom to with-hold your labor power in times of dispute with your employer, without worrying about losing your job to replacement workers ("scabs"), is essential to effective collective bargaining. We need a law that would level the playing field, and free and empower working people, by outlawing this method of strike-breaking.

Of COURSE, bona fide free enterprise includes small, family-owned & operated businesses & co-ops. Because they tend to be open and more accountable to local concerns like community economic health, these are worthy of support against Big Business. Its Big Business, typically absentee-owned, with little or no local (worker & community) input into decision-making that i was referring to as bogus, or "sham" free-enterprise. Trans-National Corporations can hardly be described as "free". With few exceptions, Big Business is run on dictatorial principles & tends to be insensitive to local interests.

A good example is Intel, which got a favorable deal from the town of Dupont to open operations there by promising to provide local jobs, & then closing up & moving away on orders from corporate headquarters, leaving the community high & dry. The GM plant in Flint, Michigan (see Michael Moore's "Roger & Me") is another example of what i'm referring to.

Freedom, to me, also means the sublime, unfettered feeling I get whenever I visit a "Liberated Zone" like Forestia, the naturist co-op out on Tiger Mountain. In Denmark, you can mow your lawn, relax in your yard, get your mail, etc., without having to put anything on. Try that in this country, and you'd risk arrest for "indecent exposure" (as if your body was created indecent!). In France, there is a revolutionary and futuristic nudist city called Cap d'Agde, complete with stores, markets, and all. We have a long way to go to catch up with Europe in this regard.

I thank Frank for his call for this invitation to discuss Freedom. Although I treasure the freedoms we enjoy in this country, we must admit that we are a still LONG way from being a truly "Free" country. A free society is no fantasy nor utopia. Freedom is achievable if we are clear about what we are for, and what we are against. Let's fight for a society where freedom is the rule, and not the exception.

I forget who wrote it, but some sage of the founding father variety, who probably got it from some founding mother, had it right: "S/he who would trade freedom for security deserves neither."

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The Death Penalty in Black and White Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Decides

Richard C. Dieter

The following is the Executive Summary of a Death Penalty Information Center Report released in June 98. Richard C. Dieter is executive director of Death Penalty Information Center.

The results of two new studies which underscore the continuing injustice of racism in the application of the death penalty are being released through this report. The first study documents the infectious presence of racism in the death penalty, and demonstrates that this problem has not slackened with time, nor is it restricted to a single region of the country. The other study identifies one of the potential causes for this continuing crisis: those who are making the critical death penalty decisions in this country are almost exclusively white.

From the days of slavery in which black people were considered property, through the years of lynchings and Jim Crow laws, capital punishment has always been deeply affected by race. Unfortunately, the days of racial bias in the death penalty are

not a remnant of the past.

Two of the country's foremost researchers on race and capital punishment, law professor David Baldus and statistician George Woodworth, along with colleagues in Philadelphia, have conducted a careful analysis of race and the death penalty in Philadelphia which reveals that the odds of receiving a death sentence are nearly four times (3.9) higher if the defendant is black. These results were obtained after analyzing and

have now been conducted in every major death penalty state. In 96% of these reviews, there was a pattern of either race-of-victim or race-of-defendant discrimination, or both. The gravity of the close connection between race and the death penalty is shown when compared to studies in other fields. Race is more likely to affect death sentencing than smoking affects the likelihood of dying from heart disease. The latter evidence has produced enormous

Despite overwhelming evidence of discrimination, the response of the courts has been to deny relief on the grounds that patterns of racial disparities are insufficient to prove racial bias in individual cases.

controlling for case differences such as the severity of the crime and the background of the defendant. The data were subjected to various forms of analysis, but the conclusion was clear: blacks were being sentenced to death far in excess of other defendants for similar crimes.

A second study by Professor Jeffrey Pokorak and researchers at St. Mary's University Law School in Texas provides part of the explanation for why the application of the death penalty remains racially skewed. Their study found that the key decision makers in death cases around the country are almost exclusively white men. Of the chief District Attorneys in counties using the death penalty in the United States, nearly 98% are white and only 1% are African-American.

These new empirical studies underscore a persistent pattern of racial disparities which has appeared throughout the country over the past twenty years. Examinations of the relationship between race and the death penalty, with varying levels of thoroughness and sophistication,

changes in law and societal practice, while racism in the death penalty has been largely ignored.

Despite overwhelming evidence of discrimination, the response of the courts has been to deny relief on the grounds that patterns of racial disparities are insufficient to prove racial bias in individual cases. With the single exception of Kentucky which recently passed a version of the Racial Justice Act, legislatures have turned their back on corrective measures. Despite the prior example of legislation in response to similar discrimination in such areas as employ-

Books To Prisoners Page

ment and housing, legislatures on both the federal and state level have failed to pass civil rights laws regarding the death penalty for fear of stopping capital punishment entirely. And so, the sore festers even as executions accelerate and appeals are curtailed.

The human cost of this racial injustice is incalculable. The decisions about who lives and who dies are being made along racial lines by a nearly all white group of prosecutors. The death penalty presents a stark symbol of the effects of racial discrimination. In individual cases, this racism is reflected in ethnic slurs hurled at black defendants by the prosecution and even by the defense. It results in black jurors being systematically barred from service, and in the devoting of more resources to white victims of homicide at the expense of black victims. And it results in a death penalty in which blacks are frequently put to death for murdering whites, but whites are almost never executed for murdering blacks. Such a system of injustice is not merely unfair and unconstitutional—it tears at the very principles to which this country struggles to adhere.

Death Penalty Information Center, 1320 18th St. NW, 5th Fl., Washington, DC 20036. (202) 293-6970

Books to Prisoners August Events

• Open drop in work/training sessions every Thurs. 3-9 pm in the back of Bulldog News, 116 E. 4th, Olympia. Training takes about 1 hour. Once you are trained you can work anytime Bulldog is open.

• BTP Volunteer Potluck - 3rd Sun. of the month (August 15th), 3 pm at Liberation Cafe 116 E. 4th Ave, Olympia

• Turn in Bayview and Ralph's grocery receipts! (dated Oct 97 to present) B to P receives 1%. Please send to the address below.

• Save the UPC code from Western Family Products and send to B to P, 115 E 4th Ave, Olympia, WA 98501

Your Help Is Needed

Because of the huge number of letters Books for Prisoners-Olympia Support Group receives each month and its limited resources, requests often wait many months to be filled. Thousands of letters still remain in boxes. Your help and generosity are urgently needed.

If we desire individuals in this country's prisons to be caring, thoughtful and sympathetic, then we too need to be caring, thoughtful and sympathetic. We need to "walk the talk." Please donate your time, money or books.

In greatest demand are:

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Frequently requested are:

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Please donate:

- Any other good books
- Stamps and stamp money
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Please bring donations of books to the Books to Prisoner-Olympia office at the Liberation Cafe above Bulldog News.

Please make checks payable to Books to Prisoners.

Address: Books to Prisoners c/o Liberation Cafe, 116 4th Ave, Olympia WA 98501

Telephone: (360) 352-7336

Inmates — All correspondence to Books to Prisoners must go through the main branch:

**Books to Prisoners
Left Bank Books
92 Pike Street
Seattle WA 98101**



by Edwin Lewis

Attention Prisoners

W.I.P. seeks articles, artwork (black and white is best) from those in prison. Please send submissions to:

Works In Progress,
PO Box 295,
Olympia WA 98507-0295

Books To Prisoners Seeks Support

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Books that are especially needed to fill thousands of requests are:

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• Money

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• Volunteers

There are currently 3-4 months of letters from prisoners unopened.

(360) 352-7336

Farmworker struggle lives on five years after Chavez's death

Arturo S. Rodriguez

In the five years since his death on April 23, 1993, dozens of communities across America have honored Cesar Chavez. Streets, parks, schools and libraries have been named for him. Yet his greatest monument isn't on a street sign or a building. It is in the continuing work of the union he founded and the courage he instilled in his people.

On April 21, two days before the fifth anniversary of Chavez's passing, strawberry workers and health-conscious consumers had cause to celebrate. California's largest organic strawberry producer became the first berry grower to sign a United Farm Workers (UFW)

Last year, the UFW helped strawberry workers file three major federal class-action lawsuits against growers who contract with Driscoll, America's largest strawberry corporation. They charged Driscoll growers with violating state and federal laws by forcing pickers to work without pay and failing to allow breaks; engaging in alleged sex discrimination; and failing to provide full overtime pay. Two of those lawsuits have been settled.

The UFW has also filed legal actions under California's toxics law accusing 10 Driscoll growers with failing to notify workers that they were exposed to significant levels of the cancer-causing fungicide captan.

On October 31, 1997, Driscoll President Ken Morena sent a letter to his

A year ago, 30,000 people marched for strawberry workers' rights in Watsonville, CA. Many of the nation's biggest supermarket chains now endorse berry workers' right to organize.

contract. San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown hosted a ceremony at City Hall. Pickers from Swanton Berry Farms brought large flats of beautiful, sweet-tasting and pesticide-free strawberries boasting the UFW's black-eagle union label. The workers won higher pay, their first paid vacations, pensions and family health benefits.

It wouldn't have happened without Cesar Chavez. Before Chavez, all the experts said farm workers could not be organized. He spent 31 years proving them wrong.

He organized, struck, marched, fasted and boycotted. He won passage of the first and only law in the nation — in California — protecting the rights of farm workers to organize and freely associate. He led the UFW to victory in union elections. He negotiated UFW contracts that provided farm workers with gains unimaginable only a short time before.

Despite these successes, most farm workers in California and the rest of the nation have none of these benefits.

Although Swanton Berry Farms has signed a UFW contract, most of the strawberry industry continues to bitterly oppose the changes berry workers seek.

growers in Ventura County, Calif. He cited "shocking" field sanitation violations in their operations.

But as this year's berry harvest gets underway on California's rich central coast, workers and organizers are building on solid progress from last year.

Berry pickers won \$575,000 in back wages for being forced to work "off the clock" without pay after the union helped them file their own federal class action lawsuit. A year ago, 30,000 people marched for strawberry workers' rights in Watsonville, Calif.

And many of the nation's biggest supermarket chains now endorse berry workers' right to organize. Chavez died before he could finish his work. He often said that if the union didn't survive his death, his work would have been in vain.

It still isn't finished. But if Cesar Chavez were alive today, he would be proud to see his legacy.

Veteran United Farm Workers organizer Arturo S. Rodriguez succeeded Cesar Chavez as president of the UFW. Copyright 1998, Arturo S. Rodriguez. Call the Progressive Media Project for information, 608-257-4626.



Briefs, continued



didates to schmooze! Veggie burgers, hotdogs, hamburgers and soft drinks provided. Please bring yourself, your friends and a potluck dish. The Northwest Equality Tour will be here to educate, energize and register voters for the fall elections. Free!

Sponsors: Hands Off Washington/Equality Washington, Human Rights Campaign, Freedom Vote, Lavender, Action Black Hills Alliance & local activists. For more information call 943-7469.

Active Resistance 1998

Toronto, Canada, August 17-23.

AR '98 is a revolutionary left, anti-capitalist gathering uniting theory and practice. We will work to transform society and ourselves by confronting capitalism, imperialism, colonization, patriarchy, racism, heterosexism, state-violence and all forms of domination and exploitation by being critical of systems, institutions and technologies and by using tactic of resistance and direct action. Those who are able to, pre-register ASAP by sending \$25 US to Active Resistance at POB 123, 275 King St. E., Toronto, ON Canada M5A 1K2; for more info, call 416/635-2763; e-mail: resist@tao.ca.

Olympia Coalition for Equal Opportunity Says NO!200

**Wednesday, August 12th at 7pm
Olympia Community Center**

The Olympia Coalition for Equal Opportunity (OCEO) is a local coalition of groups and individuals who seek to oppose Initiative 200. The coalition has intentionally formed as a broad group to include both actual campaign members as well as other activists who choose not to join an actual campaign. Our primary goal is to educate the public as to the true intent of I-200. We will be working with labor organizations, civil rights groups, political action committees and others to mobilize local people to join forces to reaffirm our commitment to affirmative action. Help defeat I-200 and defend affirmative action! As the election draws near we have plans for direct actions, panel discussions, and a visit from Tim Wise. Call 360/943-7469 for more information.

Women, Art & Radical Politics in the 1930s

Women, Art & Radical Politics in the 1930s with special guest speaker

Susan Platt and slide show. Thursday, August 20, 7:30pm at the New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Ave. S., Seattle.

New research unveils the hidden history of female radical artists and their tremendous contributions. Local author Susan Platt will speak about her soon-to-be-published book *Art and Politics in the 1930s, Modernism, Marxism, Americanism, A History of Cultural Activism During the Depression Years*. She has uncovered stories about activist women who, among many other achievements, promoted the Mexican muralists, defended the Soviet Union, demonstrated against WWII and fascism, and created visual humorous parodies of capitalism. A summer dinner, with vegetarian option, at 6:30pm for a \$6.00 donation will be offered. For more information, rides, or childcare, call 206/722-6057 or 206/722-2453.

Workfirst: Labor and Welfare Rights-A Community Forum

**Friday, August 21, 7pm
Liberation Cafe, Olympia.**

WA's new welfare reform program is blurring the line between welfare recipients and the working poor. As WorkFirst forces more and more people into minimum wage jobs and unpaid "work experience" placements, conditions and pay deteriorate. Come find out how the so-called welfare "reform" is really a labor union issues. Speakers include Monica Peabody, local coordinator of the Welfare Rights Organizing Coalition. Sponsored by the IWW and Liberation Cafe. Contact the IWW at 360/956-3706 for more information. This event is free.

Northwest Bisexuals Host 7th Annual Gathering

**Thurs. Aug. 27 to Tuesday, Sep. 1
in the Wenatchee National Forest
near Mt. Rainier National Park.**

The gathering, sponsored by the Bisexual Network of Oregon (BiNet), will be held at a secluded campground. Area activities include horseback riding, hiking, fishing, boating, excursions to nearby sights and more. Campers may come for any portion of the Wed. evening through Tues. morning gathering. All bisexuals and their guests are welcome. For info contact Kurt at BiNet Oregon at phone/fax 541/265-5861.

Save the Date & Celebrate Labor Day 1998

**Monday, September 7 @ Noon - 5
Sylvester Park, Olympia**

Kids Activities, Music, Food, Performances, Speakers, Speech and Photo Contests. Sponsored by the TESC Labor Center, The Thurston Lewis County Labor Council and the Washington Federation of State Employees Local 443. For more information contact Liz at 866-6000 x6522.

WIP's 100th Issue Party In Late September

Come celebrate 100 issues of Works In Progress in a community event with entertainment by The Street Kareoke Project. Look in the the next WIP for more information.

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photo by Hali Panneton

(Coeur d'Alene, continued)

rights. Sergeant Soumas of the Kootenai County sheriff's department told them, "You belong in the streets with the rest of them [the Aryan Nations]."

The cops additionally threatened to arrest UFAFer Hoddersen for using a bullhorn, but backed off when those standing near her began an insistent chant of "Free speech! Free speech!"

City officials should support anti-Nazi protests, according to UFAF

Coeur d'Alene authorities had encouraged downtown business to close for the day and urged that there be no on-site protest. Many human rights organization leaders went along with this strategy.

The Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment, headed by Bill Wassmuth, and the Idaho Human Rights Commission encouraged cooperation with a city campaign to keep people away from Butler and his supporters by leaving town or by taking advantage of free bowling and movies offered by businesses outside the downtown area. The Kootenai County Task Force on Human Relations helped put together a "Hands Across the Border for Human Rights" rally in Spokane, Washington, and sponsored a "Lemons to Lemonade" drive in which participants pledged a certain amount of money to a human rights group for each minute the white supremacists marched.

This "Lemons" campaign prompted Task Force member Marshall Mend to say of the Aryan show of force, "The bad news is, it was only 28 minutes. The good news is, we raised \$28,000 or more dollars for human rights."

Says Hoddersen, "To profit from the Nazis marching and to simultaneously keep protesters away is either a sinister form of collaboration or grotesquely inane. Not surprisingly, the Aryan Nations announced that they plan to parade again next year, and there will be more of them since they got such kid-glove treatment this time around."

"Anti-fascists obviously have our work cut out for us," she continues. "City leaders say that they must by law protect the constitutional rights of the white supremacists. But that doesn't have to stop them from taking a strong, unambiguous political position against the fascists. Officials need to make a 180-degree turn and get out and lead civil rights advocates in exercising our First Amendment rights."

Gil Veyna, a Chicano activist and delegate from the King County Labor Council who also took part in the protest, agrees. "It seems a boycott of Coeur d'Alene will be necessary in order to get authorities to do the right thing," he says. "Coeur d'Alene is a resort town that depends heavily on tourist dollars for its prosperity, and a boycott would get their attention."

Veyna believes, he says, that "at heart, fascism is an attempt to destroy the power of workers by dividing them." Therefore, he concludes, "It's crucial that organized labor take a leading role in fighting these Hitlerites. When they demonstrate again, so will anti-Nazi protesters. And I hope that next time our forces are larger, more diverse, and more united."

For information about UFAF's future activities, call (206) 722-2506 or fax (206) 723-7691. Moscow activists are soliciting letters condemning the police abuse of anti-fascist demonstra-

(Against Supremacy, cont.)

aries of the conversation to the right and making space in the center for proposals that seemed unthinkable a few years ago. The Washington state copycat of California's Proposition 209 is a good example. There is now plenty of political space for people to claim they are for fairness but against affirmative action.

CL: In California, where whites are fast becoming a minority, many activists attribute Proposition 209's success to white anxiety. In your region, where a white minority is a long way off, what's the impetus for proposals like Initiative 200, the anti-affirmative action referendum in Washington?

LH: There is a lot of racism below the surface. The right wing in Washington is a lot deeper than just skinheads. And a racist initiative, especially this anti-affirmative action proposal, is as much about building a constituent base as it is about winning the issue. Why does the right focus on racial issues in its electoral initiatives? Two reasons. First, they assume they can actually win these initiatives at the ballot box because people of color are a small proportion of the voting population. But if we only look at the individual initiatives we miss the forest for the trees. The right also uses race-focused wedge issues to bring out their vote in general elections — piggy-backing support for various issues and candidates into a unified voting bloc.

CL: How has this interplay affected your organizing work?

LH: The attacks on low-income people in our states have a distinctive racial undertone, and we decided that in order to win the campaigns we couldn't afford NOT to discuss the ways issues were being framed in terms of race. The explicitly racist atmosphere, though dangerous, gave us a real opportunity to push the envelope on race with our constituents and to reframe public debate, moving race to the fore. We decided to develop internal dialogues to flush out the issues so that our members would not be divided and so they'd have the analytical tools to evaluate the issues and take a position.

CL: How did you go about it?

LH: Take, for example, welfare reform. Who's on welfare? How long do they stay on? The current debate has been built on the notion that welfare is an urban phenomenon, and that beneficiaries are mostly people of color, who, with a little bit of effort, could easily find

(Coeur d'Alene, continued)

tors and demanding that all charges against protesters be dropped. These can be mailed to Mayor Steve Judy, 710 E. Mullan Ave., Coeur d'Alene, ID 83814 and Kootenai County Sheriff Clegg, P.O. Box 9000, Coeur d'Alene, ID 83816.

Andrea Bauer is a writer and radical activist whose first experiences with confronting the right wing were pickets of Anita Bryant in small towns in central Illinois during Bryant's national anti-gay campaign of the 1970s. Bauer is managing editor of the Freedom Socialist, a quarterly socialist feminist newspaper. To subscribe for a year, send \$5.00 to Freedom Socialist, 5018 Rainier Avenue South, Seattle, WA 98118.

work. This is one message that gets fed to our predominantly white, low-income, rural constituents. At the same time they are being told that immigrants from Latin America are taking their jobs and overloading the social service system.

CL: So how do you counteract this rhetoric?

LH: We do different things in different organizations. In Idaho, for instance, there was an effort to cut public benefits for legal immigrants. Our members were already working to restore an earlier cut in food stamp benefits, so the issue was not completely new. We developed an Action Education session focusing on the racist assumptions and implications for both sets of cuts. In the process, we introduced our members to representatives from immigrant rights organizations. The resulting campaign opposed both sets of cuts.

To solidify support from the Republican governor we gathered hundreds of Valentine cards from conservative districts. We staged a rally at the state capitol carrying a "Let Your Heart Shine" banner made of the valentines, which we presented to the governor — publicly identifying him with our side of the debate. Taking a lesson from the right, we used actions, press conferences, speakers, op-eds and letters to the editor to reframe the debate — and we won. Legal immigrants maintained public benefits in Idaho. And while there was strong support from people of color, the major grassroots constituency pushing on the issue was low-income, rural, and white.

CL: What new approaches did you take to deal with the racial issues?

LH: We took a different approach in Montana. Our affiliate, Montana People's Action (MPA), has begun to organize chapters of urban Indians based on racial identity. After years of unsuccessful attempts to recruit urban Indians into MPA's campaigns, the organization hired Native American member Janet Robideau to build independent, affiliated Indian People's Action chapters.

CL: How have these chapters been received in the rest of the organization?

LH: There are currently two chapters, one in Billings and one in Missoula. MPA has definitely grown through the process, developing a deeper understanding of culture and how issues affect different constituencies. The Missoula chapter is currently involved in a campaign addressing culturally insensitive curricula and teaching practices in the public schools.

CL: What's been the reaction of key staff and leaders to these efforts?

LH: The organizing staffs were motivated to take these issues on because it reflected their personal value systems. But they had no real experience doing it. They weren't sure HOW to frame the discussions around the hidden racial dimensions of the welfare and immigrant benefits issues. What was going to engage people, move them forward, and keep them together?

In the end this new focus actually strengthened our community leadership in Idaho. We didn't lose any of our core leaders. And, by going out early, we were able to clarify the values of the organization. It's clear that until people have had the time to think it through, they don't start with a pro-immigrant

position.

The biggest effect has been internal. For the Idaho leadership, while there was no pointed opposition, there was some skepticism. Could we really mobilize people in the northern part of the state on the issue of benefit cuts for immigrants? Leaders felt that they would have a hard time getting people to drive seven hours to Boise to take a stand. We surprised ourselves. The analysis that allowed us to link food stamp cuts with immigrant benefit cuts really worked.

CL: What's been the effect of addressing issues of race on your traditional religious congregation, church and union allies?

LH: In Idaho, our traditional allies in the churches have been very visible on the immigration and public benefits issue. Our colleagues in the Idaho Women's Network have done a good job of dispelling the myths of race and welfare.

We've also had support from people who are usually on the other side of the fence. The "good old boy" conservative Republicans don't want to be associated with Aryan Nation's position on race, so sometimes they're motivated to take action that distinguishes them from the Nation, like siding with us on the immigration issue. Because we explicitly identified the racist intent of the immigrant cutbacks, many Republicans walked up to us at the Valentine action and said, "Those guys have gone too far."

CL: How did the decision to explicitly address issues of race affect the Network's basic organizing model?

LH: We were able to combine issue discussions, an experience that our members weren't used to, with the kinds of direct actions that our members were used to. Combining discussions with actions taught us that we could successfully raise issues of race, but that we'd have to be willing both to talk about it and to organize around it.

CL: What has been the most significant change you've made as a result of the emphasis on race?

LH: Organizationally, I'd say that our most important move has been encouraging the creation of Indian People's Action. IPA's participation in the welfare discussion added real depth and exposed us to another dimension of racism, in which Indian people are referred to as "prairie niggers."

IPA's organizing has not only led us into campaigns that the NWFCO might not ordinarily take on, they have also challenged us to put our money where our mouth is on issues of cultural autonomy. We have a lot to learn, but I feel that we've made a good start.

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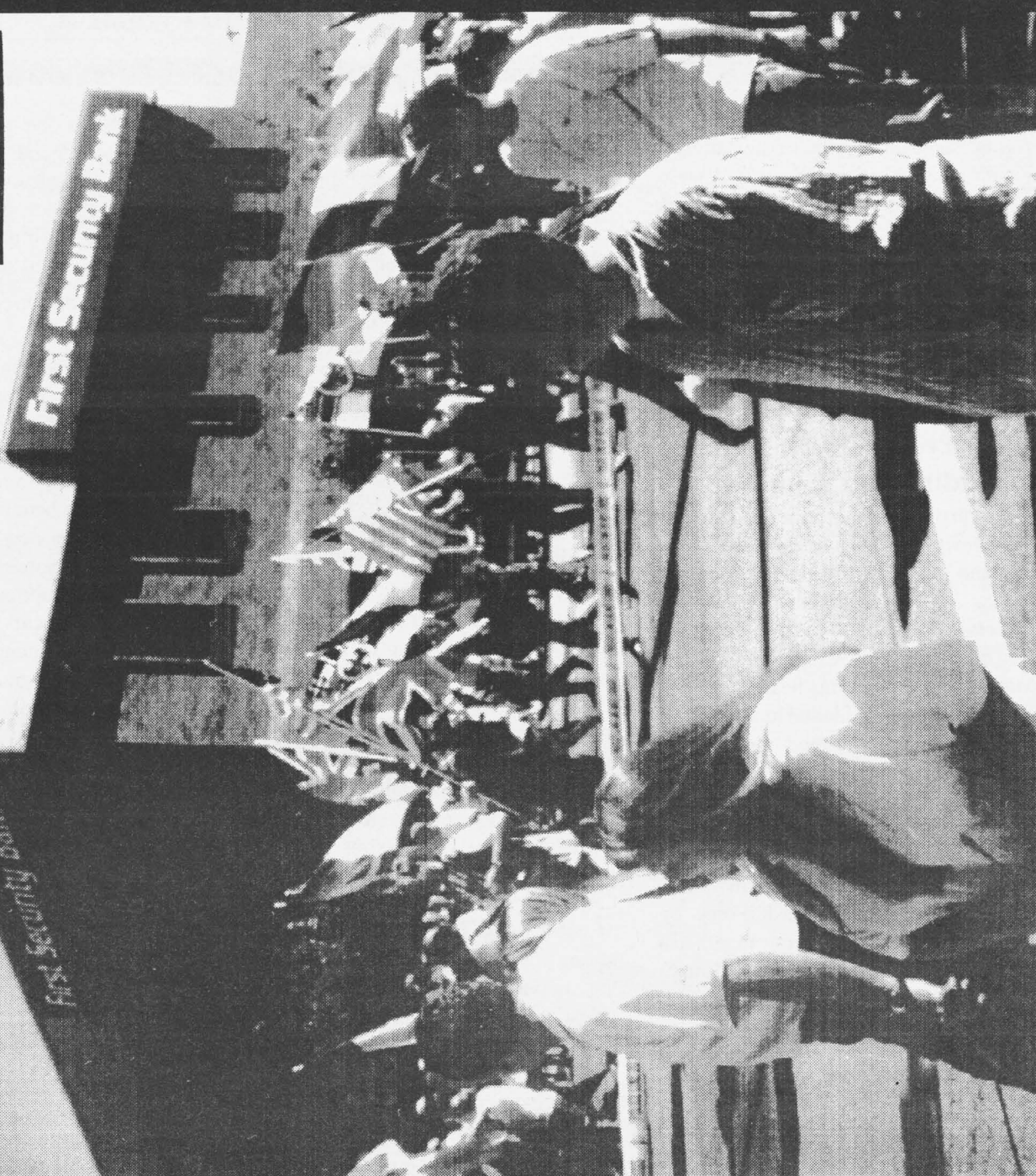
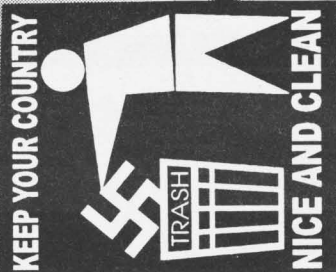


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